ELEVEN SPARKLING DAYS IN NEW CUBA ON A GUARDIAN TOUR . . . See p. 4

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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PUBLIC PRESSURE EFFECTIVE

Federal medical aid for senior citizens key Congress issue

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

MEDICAL CARE for the aged has suddenly become the hottest domestic issue in 1960 politics. The health needs of 16,000,000 persons over 65 (20,000,000 by 1970) and the challenge of the Forand Bill (HR 4700) to extend Social Security benefits to include free surgical, hospital, and nursing home care have led to a flurry of legislative and political activity.

- On March 31 a Democratic-Republican coalition in the House Ways and Means Committee voted 17 to 8 to kill the Forand Bill.
- On April 6 Rep. Forand (D-R.I.) filed a discharge petition seeking 219 signatures of Congressmen to force HR 4700 before the House for debate and vote.
- On March 22 and April 5 in White House conferences the Republicans split. The President and Congressional Republican leaders refused to support an alternative to the Forand Bill, while Health, Education and Welfare Secy. Arthur S. Flemming and Vice President Nixon—with an eye on the elections—sought an approach that would offset the Forand Bill appeal to elderly voters while satisfying the American Medical Association and the insurance companies.
- On April 7, after being turned down at the White House, Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) on behalf of Republican Senators Hugh Scott (Pa.), John Cooper (Ky.), George Aiken (Vt.), Clifford Case (N.J.), Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii), Kenneth Keating (N.Y.), and Winston L. Prouty (Vt.) introduced S-3350 to set up a voluntary system of private health insurance for needy aged to be partly supported by Federal and state subsidy. Rep. John V. Lindsay (R-N.Y.) announced he would introduce the same bill in the House.

STILL SOME HOPE: Democratic Party claims to credit for the Forand Bill were shattered when seven of the 15 Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee joined all ten Republican members to defeat the measure. When the benefits of the Forand Bill were cut by half by eliminating all but its hospital care provisions, the eight Democrats who supported the entire bill gained only one Democratic vote, Rep. Hale Boggs (La.), and the compromise was defeated, 16 to 9.

Ordinarily, such a defeat in the Ways and Means Committee would be a sure

(Continued on Page 4)

THINGS WERE NEVER LIKE THIS DOWN IN DEAR OLD DIXIE AS WE KNEW IT
A student leader addresses 5,000 fellow students on the campus of Southern University in Baton Rouge, La.

THE ALABAMA STORY

Campus turned into a concentration camp

JIMCROW is cock of the walk in Alabama. Outside of the mines and mills, where Negroes and whites work side by side, life is rigidly segregated. Negro children go to separate schools, despite the Supreme Court decisions. An Alabama Negro must sit in the back of the bus and he may not eat at the same lunch counter with whites.

Segregation is maintained through terror, private and official. There are vigorous Klan chapters and White Citizens Councils to police the system. Negroes are also kept in line by the policeman's club and the white man's court. Whites who oppose segregation are silenced by threats of physical violence and economic and social ostracism.

But Negro students have begun to challenge the system. Six months ago many would have thought it impossible. But spurred by student demonstrations elsewhere in the South and encouraged by adult Negroes, Alabama students have staged sitdown demonstrations and marches. Quick victory is not in the cards, but a first step has been taken.

CAMPUS LIFE: Bernard Lee, 24, a former student at Alabama State College in Montgomery, is an example of the "new Negro" leading the fight. He led 35 students in a sitdown Feb. 25 at the lunch counter in the county courthouse. Lee and other leaders were ordered expelled by the all-white board of education. In protest, more than 1,200 students and faculty members marched through the city and held a prayer meeting on the steps of the capitol. Police made no move against the meeting but a later prayer meeting was broken up by police and a white mob.

Lee told the Baltimore **Afro-American** what life was like subsequently at the college: "They made a concentration camp out of the campus. They surrounded the campus with [mounted] policemen . . . who carried 30-30 rifles, submachine guns and who, when a peaceful demonstration against what they were doing was begun . . . could very well have re-created what went on in South Africa."

Lee told how police moved on to campus and broke up the demonstration.

(Continued on Page 8)

THE SHARPER TEST WILL COME IN WEST VIRGINIA

Wisconsin primary: Religion turned out to be the pivot

By Robert E. Light

FOR SEN. John F. Kennedy the Wisconsin primary April 5 was a first reading for the leading-man role in the Democratic show. To a collection of hard-bitten casting directors—the party bosses—he was out to prove he rated star billing. Among his credits he listed almost 14 years with the Congressional circus and wide television exposure on McClellan's quiz show. His family could also be depended on as angels if Jack got the part.

Auditioning with Kennedy was Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, a seasoned actor familiar with hero and villain parts. In the wings other hopefuls—Symington, Johnson and Stevenson—prayed for Kennedy to muff his lines.

The Wisconsin audition failed to cast the role. Kennedy gave a good reading, but the directors needed more convincing. They looked to the West Virginia primary May 10 as a crucial test. A bad performance could take Kennedy out of the running, but a good one could win over the bosses.

The final returns in Wisconsin gave:

Kennedy	**478,901**	**40%**
Humphrey	**372,034**	**31%**
Nixon	**341,463**	**29%**

Kennedy won six Congressional Districts to Humphrey's four and 20½ convention delegate votes to Humphrey's 10½.

THE 'HIDDEN' ISSUE: Although Kennedy insisted his Roman Catholic religion should play no part in the election, all measured the vote in terms of his religious appeal. Wisconsin is about 30% Catholic. Some of the urban working-class districts are overwhelmingly Catholic; there are also rural Catholic areas. (This accounted for much of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy's strength.)

Analysis of the election districts shows

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NEXT WEEK

The India-China border: The facts and the issues

THE MAIL BAG

Lunch, Ike?

ERWIN, TENN.

I have sent the following letter to President Eisenhower:

"I thoroughly agree with your oft-repeated statement that deeds are more important than words. So, to implement your saying, why not (1) use your great influence to put an end to the highly undemocratic segregation on the golf courses whereon you play? Why not invite a colored citizen or two to golf with you sometime as well as the Wall Street millionaires? (2) If you would utilize just one of your protracted weekends in the South to turn that presidential grin on any one of the trouble spots down here, I'm sure it would help a lot and light up the situation. Why not join those determined and decent young colored students at some segregated lunch counter? I think you'd get waited on, as well as those around you."

Elizabeth Seeman

Louis E. Burnham

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Louis E. Burnham was a good friend of my family for many years. He lived across our street until about a year ago. He was indeed a fine man and he devoted his whole life to the cause of freedom. I think this poem by Katherine Cross is appropriate since he has passed away.

The Measure of a Man

Not—"How did he die?"
But—"How did he live?"
Not—"What did he gain?"
But—"What did he give?"
These are the units
To measure the worth
Of a man as a man
Regardless of birth.
Not—"What was his station?"
But—"Had he a heart?"
And—"How did he play
His God-given part?"
"Was he ever ready
With a word of good cheer
To bring back a smile,
To banish a tear?"
Not—"What was his church?"
Nor—"What was his creed?"
"Had he befriended
Those really in need?"
Not—"What did the sketch
In the newspapers say?"
But—
"How many were sorry
When he passed away?"

Earline Balton

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

If today the Negro people of the South are on the march it is because of Brother Burnham's pioneer work.

Eugene Feldman

As Chou said to Nehru

CLARKESVILLE, GA.

In his letter to Nehru, Dec. 17, 1959, Chou En-lai says: "China has . . . a vast expanse of territory, more than half of which . . . is sparsely populated." This demolishes all the tendentious falsehoods we've been reading and hearing about China secretly planning to seize land from Russia and India for its alleged overpopulation.

F.B.

Viva Rocky

CHICAGO, ILL.

So—the handsome little boy Governor, born with three silver spoons in his mouth, the boy with the beautiful hair, pearly teeth and broad smile, wants to compel all the inhabitants of New York to build air raid shelters (or should I say tombs).

As for me, I fervently hope, if—heaven forbid—there should be another war with ICBM's floating through the air, my loved ones and myself be the first ones hit.

But I do not wish such fate upon the little boy Governor—no siree! I'd want him to live for a long, long time and come out of his hole in the ground after the holocaust and breathe the air that's not fit to breathe, eat the food that's not fit to eat, drink the water that's not fit to drink. I hope he'll find his stocks and bonds intact—for after all, what could be sweeter than money!

I wonder—How stupid and crazy can you get?

Mandel Terman

No thaw in Brixham

BRIXHAM, ENG.

It leaves me cold to learn that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have agreed to keep the vast Antarctic region free of war.

Rhoda Clarke

Amnesty from fascists?

NORTH BEND, ORE.

I read, with interest, your article (March 14) about the world-wide movement for amnesty for Franco's political prisoners. The only question that occurs to me is, "how can anyone expect amnesty for political prisoners from fascists?" As far as this writer can discover the only amnesty that can be expected from such a regime is death.

The only hope for the political prisoners in Spain is the overthrow of the fascist regime now in power.

One has only to read the comment of Claude Bowers, ambassador to Spain from '33 to '39, to get a fair idea of how our "democracy" works. Our government was well informed as to what was happening in Spain. But power politics prevailed, as it always will where capitalists are concerned, and we refused to sell arms to the Spanish Republic. We now see U.S. bases in Spain—our President making visits to Franco—the remaining fascists in Germany collaborating with both. History is certainly repeating itself a certain amount.

If we really want to help the Spanish people, we can do best by insisting on real democracy at home. Pleading for mercy from fascists is like pleading for mercy from hungry wolves. There is no such word in their language.

Marshall Grob

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BINGHAMTON, N. Y. (AP) —Mrs. Mary Evelyn Elliott has left $1,000 for construction of a "bombproof shelter" for herself and her late husband, to be built in Greenfield Cemetery, Hempstead, L. I., where both are buried.

Her will calls for the construction of an underground, reinforced concrete vault in the event the present burial vault of Mrs. Elliott and her husband James is damaged by wars, hurricanes or earthquakes.

The will, filed for probate yesterday in Broome County Surrogate Court, listed the value of her estate at more than $50,000.

The document directed that the vault be constructed by trustees of the cemetery.

Mrs. Elliott died Feb. 18.

—Long Island Press
April 6.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. W., Jamaica, N. Y.

Lancaster, London Daily Express

Dr. Uphaus' witness

BOSCAWEN, N.H.

I was deeply disappointed to have the State Supreme Court rule against us, but Mrs. Uphaus and I, and many throughout the country and in other lands, have long since fortified ourselves against temporary upsets.

I realize that in our latest appeal the issues were legalistic, and that the profound questions of morality and Constitutional rights went untouched. The time will come, though, when the courts will restore the Bill of Rights to the people, but probably not until the people themselves wake up and realize that a precious heritage that has taken centuries to win is about to be lost.

At the end of three and one-half months the inner witness is still clear. In a world of relativities, compromise and opportunism, it is good to feel solid moral foundations under our feet. Our civil and religious liberties . . . inherent in the nature of man and the universe. "These rights," to quote my Methodist Discipline, "are not the gifts of government, but the gifts of God. Civil governments exist, not to confer these rights, but to guarantee them to all men alike and to protect all men in the fullest possible enjoyment of them."

Whatever judges or courts may say it is still morally wrong to expose to public scorn and obloquy people who have done no wrong. It is still right to meet in free and voluntary assembly without interference to seek solutions to the problems that have to do with our peace and security.

Freedom of conscience should be right in every land. I feel sure that if I, a Christian, were in prison in China all the people in New Hampshire would clamor for my freedom.

Willard Uphaus
Box 9

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

TAMMANY HALL was looking hard for a "high-type" politician above the district club-house level. If found, Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, the Mayor and the Governor would rally behind him to defeat Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.).

The American Labor Party said the coalition was made up of "puppets of the real estate interests and bankers who are out to kill rent control, to block low-rent housing, to defeat FEPC legislation and to freeze the Taft-Hartley slave law on the books."

Murray Baron, Manhattan chairman of the Liberal Party, was gunning not only for Marcantonio, but also for Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.), one of the two Negroes in Congress. His complaint: Congressman Powell has earned "the endorsement of the Communist-dominated ALP." His cure: "We call upon Democrats, Republicans and independent voters to coalesce . . ."

—From the National Guardian, April 19, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

Verwoerd and God

THE SECOND ACT CURTAIN rang down April 9 on the tragedy that is being played on the vast South African stage. At this writing censorship in Johannesburg has prevented disclosure of the extent of the damage caused by the assassin's bullets; but it seems likely that Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd can never again function in office.

Thus, with inexorable fate, this apostle of apartheid has reached the end of his line—even as his white regime will seal its fate if it continues on its insane course. This was a man steeped in the deology of Hitler. He was an outspoken proponent of the Thousand Year Reich—which proved no more durable than will his own—who lived so rigidly by his racist doctrines that he would not allow his children to be bathed or put to bed by an African hand.

As Verwoerd lay speechless on his hospital bed, one of his Cabinet ministers said: "We must thank providence that his life has been spared."

What providence it is that these ministers of hate appeal to?

AS IN OUR OWN SOUTH, the Gospel is invoked by men of ill will to justify hatred. White ministers who raise their voices against oppression are ostracized or forced out. Last week the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg fled to Swaziland to avoid arrest for criticizing the brutality of Verwoerd's police. In Capetown the Anglican archbishop was bitterly attacked by the Dutch Reformed Church, which has given its sanction to apartheid and resents Anglican opposition to the policy.

Speaking in the name of this much abused providence, the Rev. Dr. Abraham Johannes van der Mewe, moderator of Cape Province, said: "We as a Dutch Reformed Church have so far supported the policy of apartheid on one condition: it should be applied in such a way that it is fair to every section and involves no infringement of human dignity. If the world would only let us alone . . . We have proved in the past that we can be trusted with colored people. We have lifted them up."

The hypocrisy of this theological racketeer was underscored the same day by sworn statements made by Africans wounded at the massacre at Sharpeville March 21. Eighteen affidavits were given to attorneys in South Africa for presentation to the United Nations. They make it plain that the "trusting" dead and wounded were shot in the back. The attorneys who took the depositions were promptly arrested.

TERROR NEVER TRULY SETTLES conflicts. But it does sometimes tragically shock an apathetic world into a recognition that reason must take hold. It has happened in Ireland and Israel and Algeria, and it will continue to happen wherever violence is the established way of life and oppression bursts the bonds of patience.

What went on in the mind of the white farmer who shot Verwoerd—it had to be a white man because Africans were not allowed within hundreds of yards of the Prime Minister—we may never know. He has been described by the racists as mentally disturbed. To them anyone who questions their obscenely opulent and avaricious way of life must be unbalanced. For if they concede the sanity of their opponents they are undone.

As he was dragged away from the mangling hands of the apartheid mob, the assassin was heard to say: "May God help me!" And the sorrowing God indeed must have wept to hear His name invoked in such a scene.

THERE ARE MONSTERS ENOUGH to replace Verwoerd. They will continue to shoot and jail Africans who want to be free, and white writers like Harry Bloom (**Episode in the Transvaal**) whose consciences tell them that **ALL** men must be free. But in the last act of the tragedy their fate is foreordained. The writing was inscribed on the wall of the United Nations on April 2, in the debate on South Africa, by Caba Sory, delegate of the new African state of Guinea. He said:

"No coalition of colonial interests, no violence, no repression will be able to keep down our brothers in South Africa, or in any part of Africa for that matter, be it in the north of Africa, in the center of Africa, or in the east of Africa—Africa will belong to the Africans."

It was noteworthy that Mr. Sory felt no compulsion to invoke the deity. For men with truth on their side understand, without guidance—divine or otherwise—the meaning of faith and morality.

—THE GUARDIAN

A SOCIALIST PARTY LED BY NON-SOCIALISTS

Gaitskell clings to the bomb as Labor's prestige dwindles

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE SAD CASE of Labor leader Hugh Gaitskell's political hara-kiri continues to make headlines here.

Most of the excitement has been about the inner-party wrangle on Clause Four of Labor's constitution, which commits Labor to public control of the means of production. When Gaitskell finally agreed to keep it in and add his own mixed-economy "new testament" as well, the more perceptive commentators saw that this only added to the confusion and further lowered the leader's prestige.

The wrangle was entirely home-made, Gaitskell having decided that the 1959 election was lost on "nationalization" when in fact neither Tories nor Labor made that an issue. Two results were achieved. Voters became more aware than ever that Labor is a socialist party led by non-socialists, which is absurd.

Dyad, London Daily Worker

"I say, old boy—what is our H-bomb policy in case we have to reverse it?"

And Gaitskell's chances of moving to 10 Downing Street—except just conceivably in some weird coalition of Labor right-wingers with Liberals—dwindled to zero.

CROSSMAN CASE: The other big headline-getter was the firing of F. H. S Crossman, MP, from Labor's "front bench" (where he was its spokesman on pensions) after Crossman spoke against the party line and abstained from voting on defense policy. Together with former defense minister Emanuel Shinwell and 41 other MP's, mostly of the Left, Crossman refused to accept retention of the H-bomb as Britain's defense mainstay.

On this question—the really serious one of the hour—Gaitskell's performance was pitiful from any standpoint. Even the **New Statesman,** the pro-Labor weekly which has been moving steadily to the Right, charged him with "terrifying lack of judgment at all levels. . . . By an almost unmatched display of maladroitness he has snatched the nuclear baby from the government at the precise moment when they are most eager to relinquish it."

The reason for the **New Statesman's** outburst is that Crossman and Shinwell —both old masters at climbing on bandwagons—know what almost everyone knows but Gaitskell and his old-school-tie advisers apparently don't. Several members of the government and many Tory MP's have already concluded that Britain's "nuclear deterrent" won't deter anyone, or at least isn't worth its fantastic cost. The Tory press indicates that in the coming months Macmillan will be quietly shifting defense-policy emphasis away from the H-bomb. Even George Brown, right-wing Labor spokesman on defense, is said to have heard whispers of this well-publicized trend and to be wavering.

THE BY-ELECTIONS: A few days after the firing of Crossman, two by-elections took place. One former Labor seat (by a small majority) was won by the Tories with a slightly larger majority. In Harrow, a safe Tory seat, the Liberals got more than 7,000 votes and nosed Labor into third place.

The results reflect Labor's steady decline and the growing search for a third alternative. (In its present form, however, the Liberal Party is not a serious contender for office.) Little enthusiasm was shown for the Tories, whose vote at Harrow fell by 40%.

While headlines continue to stress differences in the Labor camp, serious Tory differences are also a feature of the scene. The old jingoist brigade, led by DAR-type women, raised their usual cries for blood at the Conservative Central Council meeting. They yelled "Bring back the birch!" at the moderate Home Secy. Butler's spokesman, who pleaded to let time show the merit of the new rehabilitation centers for juvenile delinquents. In the same week jingo MP's in a filibuster-like move prevented Laborite Sir Leslie Plummer's bill against racism from coming to the floor. Such a law in Britain would, of course, be embarrassing to Washington and Bonn and to **apartheid** South Africa.

London Daily Express

". . . and this vulgar, working-class name! Let's call ourselves 'Conservatives' and then we can't fail!"

FACTS OF LIFE: At the same time there is a more marked Tory trend to adapt to the facts of life than we have seen since the war. Many Tory MP's are supporting the boycott of South African goods, and maverick (but still Tory) Lord Altrincham is chairman of the movement which Macmillan condemned. Young Tories take a lively interest in visiting revolutionaries such as Portugal's Gen. Delgado and in independence leaders from colonial countries.

Discussions of claims to colonial independence with previously "impossible" Africans and other upstarts continue almost uninterruptedly in Whitehall. The constitutional talks with Dr. Jagan and other delegates from British Guiana were just concluded. This month's decision to scrap the Colonial Office altogether—for lack of colonies in the old sense—rated but a few inches in the press.

All these developments show that the Tories are taking seriously the "new winds" in the former colonial world, of which Macmillan spoke in criticizing **apartheid** at Capetown. What they are trying to do is quite clear—to retain as much real power as possible for white interests while yielding the appearance of power to "natives." London hopes to continue holding the vital strings and at the same time shift the focus of discontent on to "native" ministers whose hands are tied by these same strings.

DOMINANT TREND: But the dominant element in the Tory party is moving with the times, and it can no longer be said that they never learn anything from their own follies. At the Conservative Council meeting, where even the jingoists joined in a standing ovation to him, Macmillan repeated his criticism of **apartheid**, pleading for its solution by Britain setting a better example elsewhere in Africa.

For this he was honored by an attack from South Africa's Prime Minister Verwoerd, who thought Mac had the right to say it once (though it "didn't impress anyone") but not to repeat it. Verwoerd called it "political opportunism" because Mac must "contend with a great liberalistic tendency" at home.

Nobody is accusing the "liberal" Tories of no longer being Tories, but they are showing distinctly more common sense and political savoir-faire than the Gaitskellites, who now stand well to their Right on almost everything. In any case the British people seem to be stuck with a Tory government for the foreseeable future. Macmillan told his party Council delegates that in view of Labor's "folly, confusion and incompetence" he expected to be still occupying 10 Downing Street in 1974.

LOOK TO BEVAN: Labor's future depends not on playing little games with Clause Four, but on whether it can unite on a positive alternative line (1) on foreign and defense policy, now virtually inseparable, (2) on colonial policy because the Tory line is far short of what is required to stop "native" upheavals.

There is some ground for optimism in the growing uneasiness of certain trade unions concerning Gaitskell's leadership. The Transport Workers' Frank Cousins continues unrepentant on socialism and against H-bomb "defense." Most of the strategic miners' unions are now on record for socialism and sanity.

Much depends on whether Aneurin Bevan will be able to give unequivocal socialist leadership later in the year. Now slowly recovering from an operation and presumably happy to sit out the Clause Four nonsense, he is still the one outstanding political figure in Britain.

LONDON CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS FAIL

Dr. Jagan to seek new allies in Guiana freedom bid

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

AFTER "totally unsatisfactory" constitutional talks here, British Guiana's Dr. Cheddi Jagan warned at a press conference that colonial peoples would no longer be stalled in their demands for independence. Against the background of the current struggles and terror in Africa, the usual hectoring questions from Tory newsmen were conspicuously absent as Jagan told them:

- "We came here with a mandate for independence" but the conference, which "we made concession after concession to save from shipwreck," was nothing but "discussion under threats." Britain had "refused to honor its undertaking" and offered only "increased responsibility without corresponding power" for at least another year. The Guianese were "going back still as colonials."

- With Africans being mowed down when they agitate non-violently, "there is a clear lesson that freedom will not be won by mere pleading and peaceful protestation." Colonial leaders must consider refusing to hold office without power, the organizing of mass boycotts and other forms of "direct action."

OTHER SUPPORT: Recalling Tom Paine's role in the American Revolution and British aid to Bolivar to liberate South American colonies from Spain, Jagan said he would "seek help from non-British sources to liberate ourselves from Britain." He would lobby all UN members in New York and confer with Cuba's Fidel Castro and Venezuela's Betancourt on his way home, and hoped later to mobilize support in Africa.

A conference might also be held with other colonial leaders who are getting the stall treatment such as Malta's Dom Mintoff and Cyprus' Makarios, who is now protesting against British attempts to "enforce her terms by endless discussions and continued postponements."

The Guianese delegation had differences among themselves but all joined in the demand for immediate Cabinet status for ministers (now merely "advisers") and control of the police. Neither was granted. Jagan was willing, under protest, to make more concessions than some of the other delegates. Britain's control of defense was not contested and there was no suggestion of leaving the Commonwealth. Jagan told the British press:

"I think the Commonwealth is going to evolve into something worth-while. But I am a socialist and see the urgent need for planning, Britain being economically vulnerable with a third of its income from 'invisibles.' Perhaps it is we colonials who see this most clearly, and socialism will come to Britain through the back door." He expressed the delegates' pleasure at coming here to "breathe some fresh air" from the "little prison" of Guiana. "You get as much on the dole here," he added, "as we do by working."

THE BIG QUESTION: The "agreement" forced on the Guianese under "the threat by the Secy. of State to wind up the conference" accepts "the principle of independence." It continues: "On the assumption that constitutional changes are introduced as a result of this conference, then if at any time not earlier than two years after the first general election [1961] both houses of the British Guiana Legislature pass resolutions" asking Britain for independence, "Her Majesty's Government will early thereafter call a further conference to consider when it would be practicable to implement this request." This is followed by two more "provided that's."

Asked by right-wing newsmen on what grounds Britain was delaying Guianese independence so long, Jagan said: "That's just what we have been asking them over and over again—why don't **you** ask them? Perhaps they are dishonoring what they said before because we've behaved too well." In a guarded editorial the **Times** referred to "nervousness about the Marxist tendencies of [Jagan's] People's Progressive Party," which, however, "the record of this party in government over recent years has done much to allay."

CHEDDI JAGAN AND BOBBIES

British Guiana's Chief Minister was barred from London's South Africa House during a recent demonstration.

Setting a new record for Jagan press conferences, no reporter asked him whether he was a "communist." Even "colonial correspondents" are beginning to acquire a sense of the ridiculous.

Announcing: The Guardian's tour to Cuba

HOW WOULD YOU like to board a big Cubana Airlines Bristol Britannia at New York's Idlewild Airport next July 23 and four hours later step down on a runway in fabulous Havana? You'll sweep along lovely boulevards to a luxurious hotel and for the next eleven full days and nights visit Cuba old and new —historic sites, theatrical and ballet performances, projects established by the Agrarian Reform Institute, housing projects, schools, and lots more.

Wednesday morning, Aug. 3, you'll step into an air-conditioned coach for a two-hour drive to another lovely hotel at famed Varadero Beach, and three days on the azure Caribbean. Then, unwillingly, Saturday morning, Aug. 6, you'll take off for home with experiences to remember all your life.

Fourteen wonderful days in Cuba with a friendly party of GUARDIAN family—all expenses paid—food, hotels, travel, tips—AND ALL FOR ABOUT $300!

JUST SAY THE WORD AND you're aboard! By special arrangement with the Cuban government Tourist Bureau and Cubana Airlines, the GUARDIAN is able to offer this wonderful tour at this remarkably low cost.

SALUTE TO JULY 26: The GUARDIAN tour combines a tribute to the July 26 movement, which will be holding its nation-wide celebration while you are in Havana, with a leisurely, interesting two-week vacation. There will be ample opportunity to form first-hand impressions of the new Cuba and of the government which is sweeping away the vestiges of the corrupt Batista regime. The economic, cultural and educational progress which is reverberating throughout Central and South America will be observed with Cuban experts and GUARDIAN staff members as guides. Teachers, students, business and professional people, farmers, industrial workers—everyone—will welcome this opportunity.

THE ROOFTOP POOL OF THE HOTEL DEAUVILLE IN DOWNTOWN HAVANA
This is typical of the facilities available on the Guardian tour

LEAVE NEW YORK OR MIAMI: Eastern travelers will leave New York July 23 at 3:30 p.m. on a 96-passenger plane, while Midwest and Far Western contingents may fly from Chicago, Los Angeles and other cities directly to Miami for connections with a Cubana flight to Havana. Stopover privileges in Miami will be available. For those flying from Midwest points to Miami the tour cost will be only slightly higher—about $10 more, for example, for Chicagoans. For Los Angeles members the additional cost will be about $110. In all cases the additional cost is the cost of transportation (which is subject to change without notice.).

THE BASE COST of the tour will include a double room at a first class air-conditioned Havana hotel. Breakfast and dinner is included, leaving the visitors free to lunch wherever they may be sightseeing. Other "extras" included in the base price are tips, baggage transfers, transportation and a sight-seeing tour, and arrangements are being made for many additional excursions as guests of various government departments. Stay-over privileges can be arranged, and those who want to visit other Caribbean points may do so.

An optional flight to Santiago de Cuba, capital of Oriente Province, oldest important city in the Western hemisphere and center of the 26th of July movement's celebrations this year, is also available for about $30 extra. (Santiago will be having a three-day fiesta July 24-26.)

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Aid for elderly

(Continued from Page 1)

death blow. But the pressures are such that something may be rescued. The Committee at GUARDIAN press time was meeting in executive session to consider amendments to the general Social Security law. It is possible that some compromise medical care for the aged may be devised, such as special grants-in-aid under public assistance, or providing an alternative of health insurance at the cost of reduced old-age benefits.

Even if Rep. Forand fails in his almost impossible task of getting 219 signatures on his discharge petition, the drive for such support will help stave off meaningless token proposals and perhaps prepare the way for adding the Forand Bill to the general Social Security amendments on either the Senate or House floor.

THE COALITION: The bi-partisan vote of 17 Ways and Means Committee members against the Forand Bill is a classic example of the conservative Republican-Democratic coalition in action. The coalition obviously was not disrupted by the civil rights issue. The seven reactionary Democrats in this combination are all from the South, and are led by Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, a political lackey of Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) in Washington and of Governor Faubus in Arkansas. There is not even a pale liberal among the ten Republicans.

This coalition has made the powerful Ways and Means Committee a graveyard for social legislation. It has jurisdiction over all tax, social security, foreign trade, and unemployment compensation matters. Last year, for example, the coalition killed Temporary Unemployment Compensation, defeated all moves to improve regular unemployment insurance, and this year has refused to act on urgent issues of tax reform such as closing tax loopholes for the rich and reducing workers' taxes.

Democratic House bosses, especially Speaker Rayburn, make sure this reactionary bipartisan majority is preserved on the Ways and Means Committee. Of the ten Democrats named to the committee since 1955, five are reactionary southerners. Five of the seven Democrats who voted to kill the Forand Bill were appointed to the committee in the last five years. The vote on the Forand Bill, as on other defeated social legislation, was actually lost when Democrats in the House permitted Rayburn to stack the Ways and Means Committee with Dixiecrats.

SENATE LINE-UP: The counterpart of the Ways and Means Committee in the Senate is the Finance Committee headed by Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.). This obvious Democratic blockade to the Forand Bill in the Senate has been partially offset and by-passed by the Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Headed by Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.), the subcommittee has been holding hearings emphasizing the need of Federal action to provide medical care for the aged.

At the McNamara subcommittee hearings on April 4 and 6, Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) exposed the Republican's vulnerability and frustration in a startling and hysterical attack on AFL-CIO leaders Walter Reuther and James B. Carey for their charge that the Eisenhower Administration had broken promises on the medical care issue. Sen. Dirksen shouted that the charges were "stinking," "shameful," "insane," ordered Carey to "keep your mouth shut," and then stalked out of the hearing room.

Operating in accord with the doggerel, "When in danger and in doubt, run in circles, scream and shout," Dirksen's outburst reflected the split among Republicans on the medical care issue and the dangers they face because of their inaction and indecision. Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.) highlighted this at the April 6 hearing by getting HEW Secy. Flemming to concede that in spite of the Administration's "deep-seated concern" about the aged health cost problem, it had not developed any specific proposals during seven years in office and could not promise any recommendations to Congress this year.

GUIDE TO INACTION: The stalemated White House conference on April 5 resulted only in the following suggested "guide-lines" for an approach to medical care for the aged:

1. It must be voluntary.
2. It must not be "excessive."
3. It must be geared to private insurance.
4. It must not raise social security taxes.
5. It must be "limited in scope."

The following day, when Sen. Javits for himself and his seven colleagues introduced S-3350, entitled the "Health Insurance for the Aged Act," he told the Senate "the Administration feels the amount involved and the range of benefits is too great." The Javits bill would provide Federal and state subsidies to help pay for insurance against costs of hospitalization, home nursing, medical, and surgical care. Participation would be voluntary, anyone over 65 would be eligible, and premiums would range from 50c to $13 a month for persons with an income of $3,600 and over a year.

Completely separate from Social Security, the Javits plan would be administered by each state which would set its own level of benefits. Sen. Javits estimated the total cost at $1,520,000,000 a year, divided as follows: Federal, $480 million; states, $640 million; and insured persons, $400 million.

ISSUE WON'T DIE: Some critics said that the private insurance approach involved a vast government subsidy for insurance company profits. J. Douglas Brown, professor of economics and dean of the faculty at Princeton University,

Herblock, Washington Post
"Perhaps some day a kind of voluntary program for—uh—voluntary illnesses."

told the McNamara subcommittee that the Javits bill approach "is, at best, a clumsy, hybrid arrangement involving overwhelming administrative difficulties and excessive costs" and urged that the present social security system "is a tested and effective mechanism for the provision of basic protection of our aged citizens against the costs of illness."

Presidential hopefuls Senators John Kennedy (D-Mass.), Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), and Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) all loudly support the Forand Bill. The issue of the cost of illness in old age will be a major campaign issue, regardless of what happens in Congress in the next three months.

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MOST WERE CONVINCED OF THE PREMIER'S SINCERITY

How the French people and the press reacted to K's tour

(The following report on the concluding phase of Premier Khrushchev's visit to France was delayed in the mail.)

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

MR. K ENDED his French trip in an atmosphere of extraordinary relaxation, and a new attitude toward him by most of the French people and the press.

"The Soviet Premier is about to win his tour of France," the liberal **Le Monde** commented at the midway mark of his five-day tour of the provinces. His short trip across the country helped clear away years of prejudice and false notions. To the man-in-the-street today, Mr. K is a man who will eagerly advise and swap information with a French corn grower, who can get impatient with an engineer's overlong technical explanations; and one who takes a keen interest in the plumbing in a worker's low-rent apartment. Readers of the big circulation evening papers now have these images of the Soviet Premier:

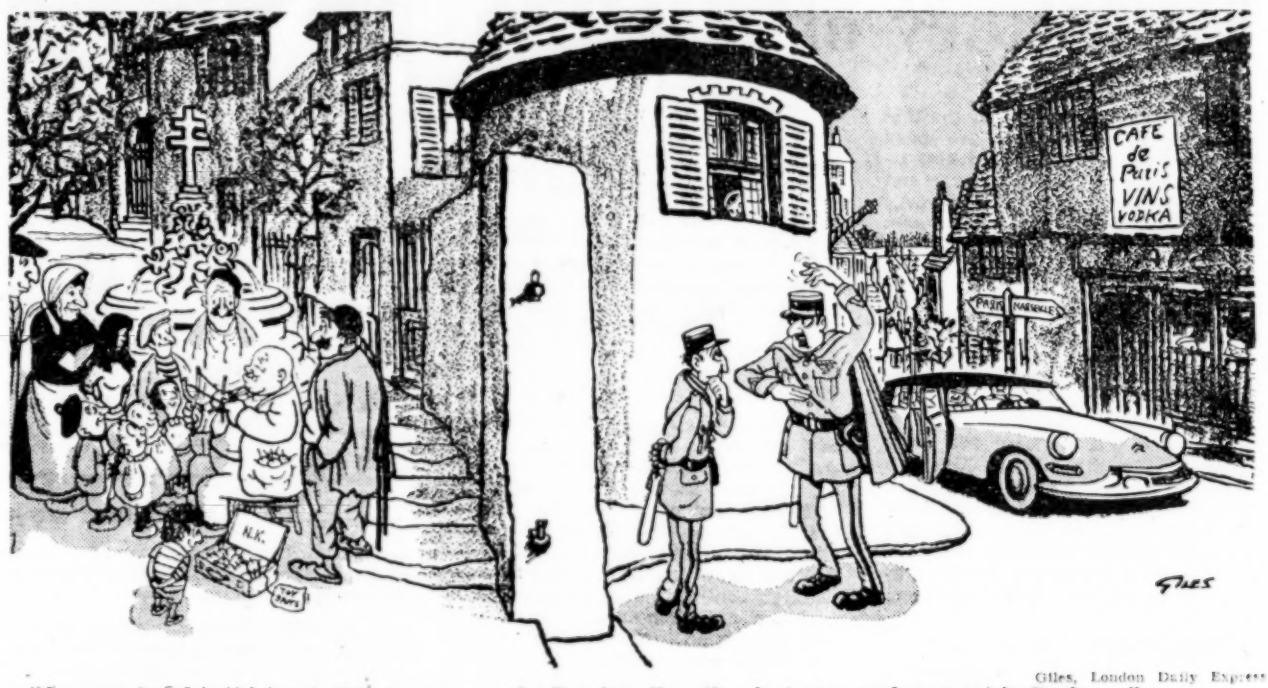
• Mr. K holding a spring lamb offered by the Pyrenées town of Pau, telling the shepherd how to care for it, and saying: "Let's call it Mir [Peace]. When it has grown to be a sheep, I'll come back to see it."

• Mr. K making a solemn promise to two children at Verdun: "We'll do everything we can so that children everywhere will never again know war."

MAN OF SINCERITY: Guy Mollet, the Socialist Party's No. 1 anti-K leader, declared that the Soviet Premier was "the most remarkable actor I have ever seen." But most observers felt that if Mr. K was acting, he was only acting himself.

Those who saw him at Verdun and Douaumont, World War I's great battlefields, saw a pale, silent Mr. K visibly shaken. Russian-speaking French TV reporter Leo Zitrone, who also writes for the Gaullist daily **Paris Journal**, said: "Khrushchev found words of moving simplicity to recall the death of his son [killed in World War II]. His silence at Douaumont, and the emotion in his voice when he spoke, all was bathed in sincerity. Even if one is not in agreement with Mr. K, one must not take him for Machiavelli. It is all much more simple, much more human. He is convinced he is right, he shouts it to the four winds, and he does not understand that one does not understand him."

By the time K had finished his tour of the provinces, even **Le Figaro** had to admit that his "Operation Smiles" had scored some points, and found little to criticize except K's "inconsiderate" cancellation of a Normandy farm visit, or the accusation that a member of his entourage had pronounced the word "Devil" in a cathedral.



Giles, London Daily Express

"Average height, thick set, thin on top, speaks Russian fluently—last seen under escort in Paris . . ."

THE WARNING: Mr. K's basic theme—the danger of another war caused by new German militarism — appeared in most of his speeches. His most solemn and urgent plea for Franco-Soviet unity —"not in order to attack Germany but in order to prevent the Germans from attacking anyone"'—came in Reims. K said he was worried over Chancellor Adenauer's recent Rome statement that the Germans had a "special mission" of saving Europe because it recalled Hitler's theories of a superior German race. K said West Germany was trying to prevent the conclusion of a peace treaty and was aiming at changing its frontiers. He invited the French to think about this while there was time, and warned that "if your diplomacy today is to play subtle games, others too know how to play" and "tomorrow perhaps they will be playing with you."

He had a moment of impatience with State Minister Louis Jacquinot who had spoken before him and had referred vaguely to a "common enemy." "What enemy are you talking about?," Mr. K asked. "Why not name him? Your speech has been so diplomatic that I don't know whether the Germans came to France as your aggressors or as your invited guests." But he quickly recovered the courtesy and cordiality that marked his entire trip. "If I tell you all this," he said, "I don't mean to give you a lesson. France is a great country, and I would lack tact if I tried to give you one."

K proved he has more tact than some people on the other side of the fence. Those who hoped for "incidents" and a few of Mr. K's famous bursts of anger were disappointed. The opportunities were not lacking. Both Marseille and Lille have Socialist Party mayors, and the orthodox (Guy Mollet variety) French SP is less tender with Communism than many right-wing poilticians. Mr. K exchanged polite and even friendly speeches with both.

CANON KIR INCIDENT: The Catholic church went out of its way to provoke a diplomatic stir when it forbade Dijon's popular 84-year-old Mayor, the Canon Kir, to receive Mr. K. The church's interdiction came two days before the scheduled visit, and for a few hours it was feared that K might cancel his Dijon stop or create an incident there. Instead, in a Dijon wild with popular applause, K said Mayor Kir was "absent physically but present spiritually. I embrace him and congratulate him for the efforts he undertakes with us for the safeguard of peace." Kir, who was virtually kidnaped from Dijon to prevent the meeting, said "nobody will keep me from opposing the cold war that brings nothing good to anybody."

The Kir affair caused almost unanimous indignation in the press and public opinion. **France Soir** called it "the most important open intervention of the Church in the temporal affairs of France since the 1905 law of separation of church and state." **Le Figaro** itself had to admit there were many more people in the Dijon streets than there would have been without the Kir affair. **Le Monde** found K had given the church a "lesson in tact."

In the Dijon bistros meanwhile, where Canon Kir has long since given his name to a local drink (a mixture of liqeuer and white wine), bartenders were brewing a historic new cocktail: the "double Kir" that adds a pony of vodka to the classic Kir.

RED NOSES: At Marseille, K sang the Marseillaise and the Volga Boatman. To SP Mayor Gaston Defferre, who warned he couldn't be turned into a Communist, K said: "I didn't come to make propaganda or to convert you. Each vegetable has its season."

Mr. K's sense of humor was of the brand decribed by the famous French humorist Tristan Bernard: "Humor is saying serious things lightly, light things seriously." At an improvised press conference in a train between Lille and Rouen, one newsman asked him what he thought of their objectivity.

"I am reading the good and bad articles," said K, "and the bad ones don't offend me. I am not getting angry. I only feel sorry for their authors. I say to myself: either they don't understand, or else they are forced to do what they are doing."

"Let me tell you a little story that I read when I was young. A man goes to a doctor and asks: 'What do I have to do so my nose will stop being red? 'Do you drink?' the doctor asks, and the man says he does. 'Well, then just continue to drink till your nose gets to be blue,' the doctor says. It will be the same for those who write bad articles," K concluded.

PEACEFUL COMPETITION: Mr. K talked little about statistics and Soviet production figures but he made a significant remark in one of his speeches:

"When France made her great bourgeois revolution," he said, "she got to be at the head of progress. The Soviet Union moves ahead today in an ever more rapid progression because she has made the socialist revolution. By comparison countries like France are falling back in the race. I don't want the French to reproach me some day for having come to their country and not telling them . . ."

Of the French press, only the liberal weekly **L'Express** found this remark worth an editorial. Most Western journalists seemed incapable of grasping the seriousness of K's offer of peaceful economic competition, or the significance of K's statement to the French trade unions that in 20 years the Soviet Union will produce twice as much as the United States.

While the long-term results of Mr. K's French trip will not be felt immediately, it may well be that the first concrete results of his visit will be in the economic field.

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THE DAY OF RECKONING IS NEAR

Blood and plunder mark the history of S. Africa

By Kumar Goshal

IN THE 472,550 square miles of the Union of South Africa, there live today 10,000,000 Africans; 3,000,000 whites; 1,500,000 Coloreds (mixed ancestry); and 500,000 Indians (Hindus and Moslems). The Africans are confined to an area which makes up 13% of the land.

The Africans, Indians and Coloreds are the ill-paid hewers of wood and drawers of water; the miners; factory workers and plantation workers; the houseboys and domestic servants kept apart from their families—all for the huge profits and lush life of the white investors and rulers.

This pattern was initiated 308 years ago when the Dutch settled in Capetown in 1652 and extended when the French Huguenots fleeing the wrath of Louis XIV joined them in 1690. Known as Boers (farmers), from the beginning the newcomers used the conquered Africans as slave labor to till their fields and tend their cattle.

THE BOERS' TREK: During the Napoleonic wars the British took possession of the colony in 1806, and used it as a naval station for their India-bound ships. Their conquest was ratified by treaty in

Eccles, London Daily Worker
A twinge of conscience

1814. When slavery was abolished in 1833, the Boers trekked north with great fortitude and established the Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State. The British expanded at the expense of the Africans, brought in indentured Indian labor for their plantations. The Indians were promised full, unqualified equality and the right to settle in South Africa when their contracts expired; but the British reneged.

Boer and British fought it out for the riches of South Africa in 1899. The British won the war but the Boers steadily came out on top politically. By 1948 they were known as Afrikaners, had won equal rights with English for their limited-vocabulary language, Afrikaans—derived from Dutch—and gained control of the government. Today their control of the government is absolute.

AMBITIOUS TWITTERS: The Europeans conquered South Africa by fraud, chicanery, fomenting civil war among the tribes and superior firepower. Conquest of Zululand is an example. It was planned in the 1870's by British Colonial Secretary Lord Carnarvon (called by his colleagues "Twitters") and executed by Sir Bartle Frere, toughened by his fight with tribesmen in India's North-West Frontier.

Twitters was ambitious. He brought the Boer Republic of Transvaal under the Union Jack. He and Frere decided that the greatest obstacle in their path of expansion was the Zulu King, Cetshwayo, even though the Zulus were friendly to the British and opposed the Dutch for attempting to extend the boundaries of Transvaal into Zululand.

Cetshwayo was a great warrior, a popular ruler, esteemed by Bishop Colenso of Natal and admired earlier by British officials as "a man of considerable ability and much force of character."

THE ZULU DIVISION: But when Britain craved Zululand, Frere decided he was a barbarous and inhuman monster, from whose maladministration the Zulu homeland had to be "liberated." In the British attack that followed, the Zulus fought fiercely; but spears eventually had to give way before guns. On July 4, 1879, the Zulus were defeated at Ulundi.

Zululand was divided into 13 sections and declared a British protectorate by the Kilkenny Cat settlement—thus called, perhaps, because the ferocity and destructiveness of the battles matched that of the fabled Irish catfight which ended only when nothing was left but the tips of their tails. Zulu resistance, however, continued and, through the intercession of Bishop Colenso, Prime Minister Gladstone restored Cetshwayo to his throne after three years' imprisonment.

But Frere fomented conflict among the Zulus, supported and supplied arms and European "volunteers" to Cetshwayo's rival Chief Zibebu. When the King returned to his throne, he found that the Dutch and the British had violated Gladstone's pledge to honor the integrity of his territory: the Transvaal Boers had sliced off a piece, the British had annexed a third of Zululand, Zibebu had been given a share and Cetshwayo got but a morsel.

UNION ESTABLISHED: Within two months of his return Cetshwayo was defending himself against attack by Zibebu. A close friend of the King wrote to Colenso: "Now you know that the Zulus are set at loggerheads by the cunning white men, who want to eat up Zululand. My heart is full of grief, I cannot find words to express it, for our splendid Zulu people."

This time Colenso's intercession was futile. Zibebu's forces slaughtered Cetshawayo's family in a surprise attack on the King's kraal. Cetshwayo, wounded, slandered by the British, died after six months' of wandering as a fugitive. It was, perhaps, prophetic that the name Cetshwayo in Zulu means "We who is slandered."

Britain welded the whole area in 1910 into the Union of South Africa to facilitate the development of mining and manufacturing industries, to create a hospitable atmosphere for capital investment from abroad. In 1931 South Africa became an independent member of the British Commonwealth. Basutoland and Swaziland, two tiny pockets of African reserves, were left within the Union as British protectorates.

Vicky, London Evening Standard
"Don't interfere—it's my business. . . !"

$175 A YEAR: Africans, Indians and the Colored were made to furnish the cheap labor needed to assure maximum profit from industry and agriculture. Today, the average annual income of an African mine worker is about $175, of a white worker about $3,000. (The South African Race Relations Institute has estimated that an African needs a minimum of $65.80 a month to maintain a family of five on the barest essentials.) Income in manufacturing is somewhat higher, in agriculture considerably lower.

Capital returns are so high that U.S. investments in South Africa soared from $86,000,000 in 1943 to $600,000,000 in 1959, with 160 American companies represented. A 10% return is not uncommon. A few years ago the governor of Pretoria's South African Reserve Bank said that some mining companies were collecting as much as a 100% return on their original investment. He added:

"Nobody in South Africa has ever squealed about that, either, as would be the case if that were to happen in just about any non-Anglo Saxon or non-European country in the world today. We like to see our investors earn a profit."

A GREAT DEPENDENCY: In the early days of industrialization, the South African businessmen found that Africans picked up industrial and technical skill as fast as Europeans. Since they could be forced to work for far less wages, there was little opposition to employing Africans in skilled jobs: opposition arose when it was found that trade unions and social, political and economic demands inevitably followed in the wake of such employment.

Pending a definite policy on importing skilled white workers on a vast scale, South Africa remains overwhelmingly dependent on non-white labor in all fields. Today Africans supply about 30% of the labor force in business and finance, 87% in mining and 92% in agriculture. To keep this manpower docile, the government has built up an incredibly tyrannical system, with fantastic rationalization and religious sanction to give the system a veneer of civilized behavior.

APARTHEID POLICY: The government first pitted the Africans, Indians and the Colored against one another. It was not long before these three made common cause. The African National Congress, the Indian Congress and the Organization of the Colored learned to work together. The government finally framed an elaborate policy of separation (Apartheid) and subordination.

The policy means relocating the nonwhites in the least desirable areas; separating the Africans, Indians and the colored, and fractionalizing the Africans into small tribal units headed by amenable "chiefs," with white advisers. Special educational methods are being devised to implant in Africans their subordinate status. The government generously concedes that in the far distant future—

(Continued on Page 7)

GHANA'S E. RENNER SPEAKS TO STOCKHOLM CONSTRUCTION WORKERS
They acted on his appeal on behalf of South African Negroes

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'THE VERWOERD GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE OUTLAWED'

Behind S. Africa's violence

E. S. Sachs, author of the article below, is a former head of the South African Garment Workers Union who has been living and working in London. He has written several books, among them The Choice Before South Africa *and (with Lionel Forman)* The South Africa Treason Trial. *He was a Labor candidate for Parliament in the last election.*

By E. S. Sachs
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THE ENSLAVEMENT of the indigenous African people by the white settlers in South Africa began some 300 years ago but became intensified two hundred years later when precious minerals, first diamonds and later gold, were discovered. Masses of Africans were dispossessed of their land to ensure plenty of cheap labor.

Since the formation of the Union of South Africa, countless laws have been enacted to keep the African in a state of subjection and every attempt on the part of the oppressed people to secure freedom was put down with the utmost ruthlessness. Even under the rule of the late General Smuts, who posed as a liberal statesman, mass shooting of Africans occurred. On May 24, 1921, 163 peaceful Africans were killed and 129 wounded by troops and police at Bulhock. A year later, more than a hundred Bondels, members of a Hottentot tribe, were massacred in South West Africa. The shooting of Africans by white policemen had already become a common feature of South African life.

The mass murder of Africans in the past passed off with a few protests that did not seriously interfere with the rule of the racists. The massacre of more than 70 men, women and children at Sharpeville in the Southern Transvaal on March 21 and the shooting at Langa near Capetown the same day have provoked entirely different results. A new chapter is beginning in South Africa. The Africans, the Colored and the Indian people are no longer prepared to submit peacefully to the inhuman oppression, inflicted upon them by the whites.

The Nationalist government came to power on a policy of apartheid. Formerly, the oppression of the African people had been an expedient. The mine owners and white farmers wanted the cheap labor of the Africans and the white government adopted measures to satisfy the labor requirements of the white employers. The Nationalists turned racial oppression into a national philosophy—eternal, immutable, and blessed by Providence. All whites are "superior," and all non-whites are "inferior" and have been brought into the world merely to serve their white masters. Never shall a non-white be allowed to rise above the level of an unskilled laborer.

For 12 years the Nationalist government proceeded ruthlessly to implement its inhuman policy in every field. What little say the Africans had in the government of the country—they could elect three whites to represent them in the House of Assembly, and four in the Senate—was taken away. About 90% of the country had been declared "White" in 1913; now the Africans cannot even rent land in these areas. Prohibited from living in the towns they helped to build, they are forced to live miles away from their places of work in shanties under conditions of misery and squalor.

The most elementary trade union rights and the rights to collective bargaining have been taken away from them, and under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956, the Minister of Labor is given unchallengeable power to exclude any or all Africans and other non-Europeans from any industry, trade, or occupation. In the field of education, Africans are excluded from universities, and in the primary schools they are taught only to be efficient servants.

MASS ARRESTS have been carried out regularly. The most humiliating and oppressive of the numerous measures are the pass laws. Under these, every movement of the African is regulated by the police or by government officials. He may not travel without a pass. He cannot walk a hundred yards from his home or place of work without a special pass.

The poverty in the rural areas is appalling, but the rural African who wants to travel to an industrial area to seek employment must first obtain permission from several government departments. The African must carry several kinds of passes on him and hundreds of thousands are sent to prison or fined every year under the pass laws. In every sphere the African is humiliated and degraded.

Twelve years of oppression has increased the resistance to tyranny. Twelve years ago the African National Congress, the mass political organization of the African people, had a membership of only a few thousand. Today its membership exceeds 100,000 and its influence has spread throughout the country. Not only do the 3,000,000 African workers follow Congress, but even on the white farms where 2,500,000 Africans are employed under slave conditions, and in the Native reserves where 4,000,000 Africans live in dire poverty, the revolt against oppression has grown and the ANC wields a powerful influence.

The leadership of the ANC has throughout been very moderate and is completely free from racialism. Their demand is not to drive the whites into the sea, but for full democratic rights for the African people in the land of their birth.

THE MASS OF AFRICANS, however, after generations of cruel oppression, are finding conditions intolerable under Nationalist rule, and two years ago a group of Africans who wanted more militant action broke away from the ANC and formed what is known as the "Africanist Group." For many years an explosive situation prevailed in South Africa; the explosion was set off on Monday, March 21, when thousands of Africans under the lead of the Africanists in different parts of the country, marched peacefully to various police stations, told the police that they would no longer carry passes and asked to be arrested. That there was not the slighest intention on the part of the Africans to use violence is proved clearly by the fact that women and children accompanied these demonstrations.

Dr. Verwoerd and his government of political gangsters, having swallowed Hitler's philosophy and technique, waited for the opportunity to "teach the Kaffirs a lesson." Without any provocation, the police opened fire with Sten guns, killing scores and wounding hundreds. Tyrants seldom learn from history, and Verwoerd entirely miscalculated the results of his bloody action. Instead of becoming terrified, the Africans throughout the whole country became enraged, and a week later, on Monday, March 28, when Albert Luthuli, president of the African National Congress, burned his pass and called upon the African people for a day of mourning and to stay away from work, more than 90% of the African workers responded.

Johannesburg, Capetown, Port Elizabeth, and the important industrial center of Vereeniging, adjoining Sharpeville, became almost paralyzed, with every phase of life disorganized. In spite of terror and prohibitions, thousands of African marched to police stations, threw away or burned their passes, and asked to be arrested. On March 30, 30,000 Africans staged a peaceful march on Capetown—the peaceful marching of Africans always sends a shiver down the spines of their white oppressors.

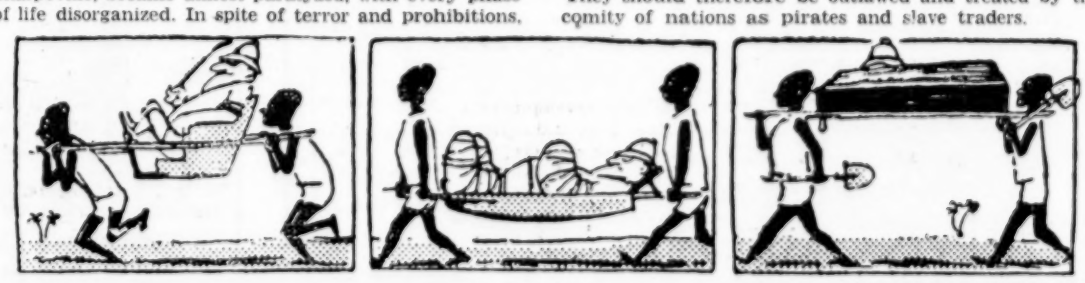
A "STAY-AT-HOME" GETS FIRST AID
Guns, clubs and whips showed who was boss

THE WHOLE WORLD was outraged by the crimes of the white racists and the mass murder of Africans is now under consideration by the United Nations.

Meanwhile the terror continues. Two hundred and thirty-four progressives of all races have been arrested at dawn, including Albert Luthuli, who was beaten in jail. A bill is being rushed through the Union Parliament to prohibit both the ANC and the Africanist organization.

The provisions of the Public Safety Act of 1953 have been invoked and all the important industrial areas have been placed under martial law. Under that Act, if the Governor General is of the opinion that public order is threatened or that "the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the government to maintain public order," he may declare a state of emergency, under which the entire populace is placed at the mercy of the police and military. How much longer will civilized humanity and the international labor movement allow a band of ruthless gangsters, who represent only a minority of the white population, to oppress, degrade, murder and terrorize 12,000,000 African people, whose only crime is that their skin is not white?

Verwoerd and his government have declared war on two-thirds of humanity who are not white; they are disturbing the peace of the world. Their actions are directed against all that is civilized in human society. They should therefore be outlawed and treated by the comity of nations as pirates and slave traders.



Yesterday . . . Today . . . Tomorrow . . .

Chivat, Bucharest Romînia Liberă

S. Africa history

(Continued from Page 6)

some officials say in 2,000 years—the African units will become autonomous under the rule of their chiefs.

WIDESPREAD REPRESSION: Simultaneously the government is jailing all non-white leaders as "communist agitators," and cracking down on the minute minority of whites sympathetic to the Africans' aspirations. Even though Africans receive far less wages than whites doing the same work, many of them are being disqualified from positions they previously held and others are being permanently barred from holding skilled jobs.

In enacting legislation to further these objectives, the government claims it is upholding the laws as it puts them into effect. And through the support of the Dutch Reformed Church it is obtaining religious sanction for its principle of the inherent inferiority of the non-whites.

MATURING AFRICANS: Opposition from white businessmen, however, indicates that these measures are as desperate as they are impractical. Neither the outlawing of African trade unions nor the current police brutality has helped restore confidence in the South African economy. Businessmen are urging government moderation, even toying with the idea of replacing the government with a more moderate one. This, too, will prove futile in the end.

For, despite repression, the Africans in South Africa have matured politically. The effect of the recent stay-at-home movement has demonstrated to them their potential power as the real producers of South Africa's wealth, which lines the pockets of a white minority at home and abroad and leaves them starving.

THE YOUNG TAKE OVER: As in many other colonial and semi-colonial countries, the revolutionary leadership among the Africans is passing into the hands of young people. The Pan-Africanist Congress had apparently anticipated repression and arrests by setting up three layers of leadership, the third composed of teenagers. To them the burning of passes is but a beginning. They will not stop short of the fulfillment of the 1957 African Freedom Charter which called for equal rights for all, "regardless of race, color or sex," in a South Africa which "belongs to all who live in it, black and white"; national wealth restored to the people; land reform; the right to work, leisure and culture and housing and medical care; and freedom of movement and domicile.

The time and manner of achieving fulfillment cannot be predicted; but, with the walls of colonialism tumbling down to the very edge of this bastion of bigotry, white supremacy and imperialism, fulfillment is assured.

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Alabama story

(Continued from Page 1)

"The police . . . really had a field day in name-calling and later at the jail abused two members of the group physically. . . . The five co-eds who were in the group really suffered all sorts of abuses. They were called names such as I had never heard before."

1,500 QUIT: Gov. John Patterson called in the college president, Dr. H. C. Trenholm, a Negro, and laid down the law. He told Trenholm to straighten out the students or he would "find someone who can." Trenholm expelled more than 100 students and fired 11 faculty members for their part in the demonstrations.

In protest students refused to register for the new term. About 1,500 students quit the college. Last term the student enrollment was 2,400, now it is 900.

Lee summed up: "I am doing what I am doing because I believe it is right. I believe that 100 years is too long to have Jefferson Davis' spirit ride our backs. . . .

"Education without freedom is useless. . . . What has come out of this is a will to fight. A desire to change. . . . We will not agree to anything but equality."

POSSES ORGANIZED: The Montgomery demonstrations moved Alabama police to take new steps to preserve the system. The sheriffs of Dallas, Autauga and Shelby counties sent out calls for volunteer posses. Dallas deputized 500 men, including 52 horsemen. Under a mutual defense pact, the sheriffs agreed to send their posses to the county hit by a sitdown. Posse members are given badges but they must supply their own firearms and horses.

In Birmingham, Public Safety Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor doesn't need outside help. He has run the city for years as a concentration camp for Negroes.

Connor took personal offense two years ago when Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth led 12 other Negroes in a challenge to the city's bus segregation ordinance. Since then he has kept Shuttlesworth and other Negro ministers under close surveillance.

Within an hour after ten students staged Birmingham's first sitdowns at five lunch counters March 31, Connor sent three detectives to arrest Shuttlesworth. He kept him in jail overnight and released him on $300 bond the next day.

SHOW OF FORCE: Shuttlesworth called a public meeting at his church that night. At sunset, police cars parked on every corner in a radius of three blocks from the church. A police car and a fire inspector's red car parked in front of the church. On the steps, two detectives looked over parishioners as they arrived.

Inside, two detectives sat in the last pew during the religious service; they have attended every church meeting since the 1958 bus demonstration. When the service was over, the detectives moved to the front pew. Shuttlesworth was not at the meeting (he was called out of town), but the detecives heard one of the students tell of the sitdowns and the subsequent arrests. They also heard Rev. J. S. Phifer say: "God will move in South Africa and God will move in the Southland."

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"You look sort of pale yourself."

THE VAGRANTS: On his return to town the next day, Shuttlesworth and Rev. Charles Billups were arrested on charges of aiding and abetting the sitdowns and vagrancy. New York **Post** columnist William V. Shannon commented: "How two ministers who have families, homes and regular pulpits could qualify as 'vagrants' is one of the deep subtleties of Southern justice no Northerner could be expected to understand." Shannon added: "The practical effect of the vagrancy charge, however, was clear enough. Bail could not be granted until it was settled—which meant Shuttlesworth had to stay another night in jail."

On April 4, Shuttlesworth, Billups and ten students were sentenced to 180 days in jail and fined $100 for each for staging the sitdown. (Shuttlesworth was sentenced to an additional 180 days and fined $100 more for allegedly making a false report to the police. Some weeks before Shuttlesworth had asked police to investigate reports that a Negro man had been beaten and mutilated by white men.) All sentences were appealed.

ASK FOR HELP: On April 7, Shuttlesworth, on behalf of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, and Billups appealed to Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers to take action against "serious violations of constitutional rights" by the Birmingham police department. They asked the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Dept. to investigate and obtain court injunctions against Connor.

They also asked the national office of the NAACP and the ACLU for help.

In Atlanta, Ella J. Baker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, reported that help is being sought from AFL-CIO vice president Walter Reuther and from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Shannon also called for intervention by the Attorney General. He asked rhetorically: "Or have the words and whims of 'Bull' Connor become the law of the land?"

BOYCOTT STEPPED UP: Elsewhere in the South anti-segregation demonstrations continue unabated. In New York, the national office of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is stepping up its boycott campaign against F. W. Woolworth stores. With substantial labor and church support, it is distributing 1,000,000 pledge cards reading: "I believe it is morally wrong for F. W. Woolworth to segregate its lunch counters in the South. I pledge myself not to buy at any Woolworth store anywhere until this policy is changed."

Persons desiring small batches of cards should send their request with a stamped, self-addressed envelope to CORE, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

Are You Satisfied With Your Child's Eating During the Hot Summer Months?

The tremendous response of **GUARDIAN** mothers and fathers to our last story about the **Camp Calumet** approach to children's camping (if you missed it we'll gladly send you a copy) brought us a very enthusiastic group of campers and also spotlighted the importance families place on the question above.

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Orange juice Farina or dry cereal Fried/boiled eggs	Fruit salad Frankfurters with beans —or— Salmon-egg salad Lettuce & tomatoes —or— Sour cream w/fruit Bread & butter Chocolate cake Milk	Mushroom barley soup Roast chicken Oven browned potatoes Green peas Garden salad with dressing Bread & butter Watermelon Milk
Orange juice Oatmeal or Dry cereal Wheat cakes with syrup Boiled eggs Toast & Butter Milk - Cocoa	Fresh vegetable soup Bacon & tomato sandwich Macaroni augustin —or— Fruit plate with cottage cheese Carrot stocks Bread & butter Ginger cake Milk	Pineapple juice Roast virginia ham Yankee pot roast Mashed potatoes Mixed vegetables Hearts of lettuce with dressing Bread & butter Apple pie Milk

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(See Page 11 Re: Parents Weekend)

NEW YORK

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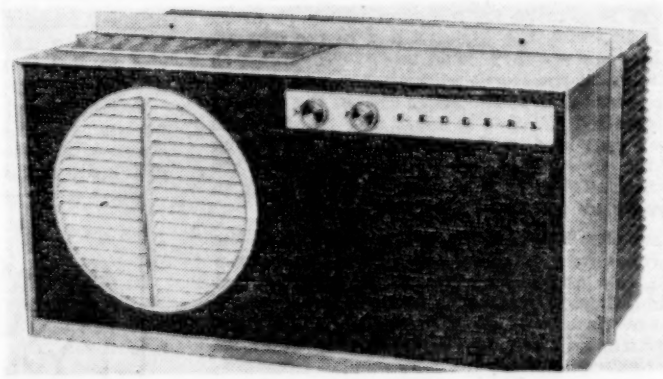

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BOOKS

Peace and plenty

SINCE PRICES under capitalism are the sum of wages paid for production, distribution, etc., plus a profit factor, then it should be as clear to anyone as it is to Elsa Peters Morse, author of a $2 booklet called **The Key to World Peace and Plenty,** that wages alone can never pay for everything capitalism produces.

You might argue that profits as well as wages are used to buy things; the answer to that is, yes but wages are usually spent wholly for living expenses, while profits are mostly spent for some kind of capital expansion to make more profits. Yet if buying stops, who's going to expand? So cyclical crises result—from under-consumption or over-production, you name it. They hit us about every ten years from 1825 to 1866, thereafter in 1873, 1882, 1890, 1900, 1907, 1913, 1920, 1929, 1937, and we have had three more since 1948. The last one, 1958, left us with a "normal" pool of 4-5 million unemployed according to business and government figures, but probably millions more, counting part-time workers and people who have never had a job and therefore haven't crashed the employment statistics.

Obviously, with the socialist third of the world edging us out of foreign markets, and the colonial third of the world looking in the socialist direction, something has got to give, and Miss Morse thinks—as many of the rest of us do—that the profit system will have to give. For to start a war for profits would most certainly terminate not only the profit system, but all other systems as well.

FOR THOSE (like James P. Warburg, for example) who propose to save capitalism by substituting the welfare state for the warfare state, Miss Morse quotes Joseph Gillman to show that this won't work, either. One year's expenditure for armaments and "defense" (1958's $40 billion, for example) would build all the hospitals we need and over-subscribe our educational needs, including free scholarships to all superior high school students. If this could go on year after year, fine perhaps, but it could not; and sooner or later most people will see this, especially if the labor movement buckles down to the job of giving people the economic facts of life instead of blocking the road to economic progress and peace.

Nevertheless the welfare state is an economic necessity as an interim measure of coexistence, and if faced in its full economic reality, can serve as a logical transitional period. Meanwhile, let's figure to trade in this wheezy jalopy system for the latest model, Space Age Economics—scientific socialism which, within a decade or two, could industrialize the entire world and so provide abundance and economic security to all peoples "progressively and beyond the scale now enjoyed even by the richest."

Miss Morse's booklet packs a Sunday punch in its 96 easy-to-read and ably-researched pages. Only the $2 price seems out of line, but you can be reasonably sure there is no profit factor involved. Order from Summit Press, P.O. Box 5047, San Francisco, Calif.

•

IF CAPITALISTS will take a tip from Eugene L. Howard of Muskegon, Mich., and adopt his road to socialism without a struggle, they will be much better off —"no financial worries, no tensions, fewer ulcers and coronaries."

His big idea, detailed in **Humanity's Guide to Everlasting Prosperity and Peace,*** is The Ever-Full Treasury and here's how it works:

First, the government (and for the good of all of us, it had better be a people's government) abolishes taxes. But it goes right on operating by writing checks, which the banking system of the country must honor. The checks will be redeemed to the banks by the government's skimming off a graduated percentage of the bank accounts of the nation from time to time and depositing the take in the government's bank accounts. Investments will be skimmed just like bank accounts. Idle money goes to work, from the top down; hoarding is banned.

All skimmings will be regarded as loans, repayable to the skimmed but only for approved constructive needs like plant expansion, etc. Thus capitalists will still

HUGH HARDYMAN
Defender of human rights

be able to pile up fortunes, but the creamier they are, the better the skimming.

THE BIG EQUALIZER in the scheme is the Grim Reaper, because the government will repay money only to people who request it and have good use for it, and, as everybody knows, there are no pockets in shrouds. Death ends the indebtedness; heirs may not present due bills.

The way the author has it figured, the Ever-Full Treasury will be a capitalists' paradise, while they last. As for the rest of us: full employment, full social security, free mail, better homes, take the kids to the seashore. And your own little bank account will be safe as long as the capitalists keep theirs rich with butter fat for Uncle Whiskers' separator.

Author Howard has been presenting his plan in one form or another since his first book, **Cankered Gold,** in 1935. He has lost two teaching jobs for preaching it, which only goes to show that the Muskegon school trustees don't know cream from Pream.

—John T. McManus

**HUMANITY'S GUIDE TO EVERLASTING PROSPERITY AND PEACE, by Eugene L. Howard, 1716 Elwood St., Muskegon, Mich. 279 pp. $2.*

A CIVIL LIBERTARIAN

Hugh Hardyman dies in Mexico

HUGH HARDYMAN, a devoted supporter of the GUARDIAN since its inception and a freqent contributor to its pages, died in Guadalajara, Mexico, on April 5. He was 57 years old.

A retired Southern California fruit grower, Hardyman for the past five years, together with his wife, the former Susan Isham of Vermont, maintained a free Farm School for Mexican boys at Huejotitan, Jalisco, Mexico. Through the Ormsby Hill Foundation, of which Hardyman was a director, the couple also maintained a school for underprivileged children in Manchester, Vt.

Hardyman was born in Bath, England, and came to this country in 1919. He worked as a newspaperman on the Washington **Post** and the Los Angeles **Record.**

He was an active and uncompromising defender of civil liberties and human rights. One of the great experiences of his life, he said, was a trip to China in 1952 as a delegate to a peace conference. He had planned to return to China in the near future.

As a member and former trustee of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, he was active in helping shape church policies and extending its influence in the social and cultural life of the community, especially through intercultural programs for youth.

He is survived by his wife, two sons, Maitland and James, two grandsons, and a sister and two brothers in England

A memorial service will be held at 2 p.m. Sunday, April 24, at the first Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th St., Los Angeles, with Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman officiating. Reuben Borough, a GUARDIAN contributor and a former colleague of Hardyman on the Los Angeles **Record,** will be one of the speakers.

Timely Rimes

NEW YORK, N.Y.
We didn't do nothing,
Our officials maintain;
And if Fidel ain't convinced
We'll do it again.

L.G.

BOOKS

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Wisconsin vote

(Continued from Page 1)

that Kennedy got a solid Catholic vote, including Republican Catholics who crossed party lines to vote for him. He did particularly well in the cities. In the 4th District in Milwaukee, heavily Catholic and normally Democratic, Kennedy won by 85,000 to 41,000 for Humphrey. In the normally Republican but Catholic 8th District, Kennedy got 18,500 votes to 5,000 for Humphrey and 9,100 for Nixon.

Humphrey made his best showing in rural areas where he had campaigned on his voting record for farm price supports. Wisconsin dairy farmers have been hard hit by falling milk prices. But rural Catholics nevertheless went for Kennedy. In Dane County, for example, Little Cross Plains is normally Democratic and heavily Catholic. The vote was Kennedy, 227; Humphrey, 65; Nixon 33. In Pleasant Springs in the same county, normally Democratic and predominantly Protestant, the vote was Humphrey 247; Nixon 75; Kennedy 30.

THE NIXON ISSUE: Kennedy also showed some strength in Protestant working-class areas, although Humphrey had the nominal support of most local union leaders. Humphrey, on the other hand, won the 2nd Congressional District, generally middle-class and the center of Stevenson strength. He also did well in the few Negro areas of the state.

Kennedy and Humphrey both identified the main issue in the campaign as which of the two would do better against Nixon in November. Both called themselves "liberals" and took similar stands on disarmament, medical care for the aged, improved farm income and better schools. When early polls showed Humphrey far behind, he began to criticize Kennedy's former opposition to price supports and posed himself as a poor man running against a rich one.

But issues were secondary in the campaign. It was run basically as a beauty contest over who had a better TV personality and whose family was more appealing.

FAMILY AFFAIR: Kennedy had a well-heeled, well-oiled machine. He estimated that he spent $120,000 on the campaign. He mailed 1,000,000 copies of a ten-page tabloid newspaper extolling his feats during the war and in Congress, with ample pictures of his good-looking wife and children. In each Congressional district he had an organization headed by a close relative or friend, each of whom was rich enough to serve without pay.

IS OUR MAN FOR PRESIDENT
IS A MAN OF COURAGE
FOR ESIDENT
IS A MAN OF INTEGRITY
IS THE ONLY MAN TO LEAD US
WILL SAVE US FROM TYRANNY

Art Sloggatt, New York Daily Mirror
"Hold that name a while!"

Kennedy spent much time on television where viewers were asked to phone in questions. His supporters claim this won him "the woman vote." They point out that the questions called in rarely dealt with serious issues. Most callers wanted to know about his family life, his clothes, his haircut and his education.

BEEF SOUP: Humphrey ran a less efficient campaign but he had a few gimmicks, too.

He appeared at an Auto Workers' picket line and led the strikers in singing "Solidarity Forever."

He also made liberal use of his family. Humphrey supporters throughout the state distributed cards on which were printed "Muriel Humphrey's recipe for beef soup."

Humphrey's family was less accomplished on television. One night his 12-year-old son went on with him.

"What do you do?" the announcer asked the boy.

"I pass out pamphlets."

"And what happens?" asked the announcer.

"Oh, I find a lot of people who won't take Dad's stuff."

The big question is whether Democrats in West Virginia will take Humphrey's or Kennedy's stuff. The state's Catholic population is less than 5% and there are traces of sharp anti-Catholic sentiment. "The folks down there don't catch fire very easy," a local politician told the New York **Herald Tribune.** "We ain't very impressible."

WOOING THE BOSSES: Kennedy must impress Democratic Party leaders he can win Protestant votes to gain their support. In addition to opposition on religious grounds, in West Virginia he is lacking the support of local party leaders. John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers, the strongest union in the state, is also against him. Symington and Johnson, who have strong backing in the state, are reported to be throwing their support to Humphrey in a "stop Kennedy" move.

But early polls show Kennedy ahead. He has an extensive machine in the state. He can be expected to pull out all stops on campaign expenditures. His headquarters has 500,000 copies of his ten-page paper ready to go into the mails.

If Kennedy wins handily, he will have an effective answer to the party bosses who seem to feel that it is not yet time to run a Catholic for President.

HUNGRY VOTERS: Economic issues are likely to play a large part in the vote. West Virginia has been hard hit by chronic unemployment, due in some part to closing of mines and to automation. There are entire towns lacking adequate food and clothing. Kennedy took note of this in a speech April 7. He blamed the situation on the Republican administration, which he called "a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

In Republican circles there was mixed reaction to Nixon's performance in Wisconsin. Some called it a victory. They pointed out that although it was difficult to whip up sentiment for a campaign in which he was unopposed, Nixon still got nearly 30% of the total vote. They also indicated that there was no Republican campaigning until just before the vote.

Others thought Nixon should have done better. In a traditionally Republican state, they said, he should have at least beaten out Humphrey. They thought that the vote showed that Nixon's popularity was slipping.

ELUSIVE BRIDGE: President Eisenhower said that Nixon needed more publicity. Once he took to the stump, the President said, he was sure Nixon's popularity would increase.

In the New York governor's mansion, Nelson Rockefeller seemed ready to step in if Nixon's standing dropped too low by July. At a press conference he reiterated his decision not to accept the Vice Presidential nomination. Former New York Gov. Thomas E. Dewey had publicly urged him to accept the second spot. Rockefeller also reaffirmed his Dec. 26 announcement that he was not a candidate for the Presidential nomination. But when a reporter asked him if he would accept a draft, Rockefeller answered: "I'd cross that bridge if it came."

LOS ANGELES

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8:00, "Stages in Human History" (Klein)
8:30, "N.Y.: Peoples & Politics" (Johnson)

TUESDAYS— 6:15, "Dev't. of U.S. Socialism" (Albertson)
6:45, "Arts in the 20th Century" (Finkelstein)
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8:30, "Struggle for Negro Freedom" (Jackson)

WEDNESDAYS— 6:15, "Amer. Social Thought Today" (Aptheker)
6:45, "Present-Day Capitalism" (Lumer)
8:00, "Current Questions in Theory" (Aptheker)
8:30, "U.S. Labor Movement Today" (Rosen)

THURSDAYS— 6:15, "Puerto Ricans in the U.S." (Colon)
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MAY DAY 1960—Sat., April 30, 8:15 p.m. Embassy Auditorium, 9th & Grand. Hear: Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., National Secy. Communist Party, U.S.A., former Councilman, New York City. Auspices: May Day Committee. Adm: 50 cents.

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Sun., April 24, 2 p.m., Alexandria Hotel, 5th & Spring Sts. Refreshments. Con. $1. Friends and admirers gather to celebrate publication of her book, **Forty Years.** Cultural program and review of highlights of **Forty Years.** Co-Chairmen: Mrs. Cora Buck, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman.

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CELEBRATE MAY DAY, May 1, 8 p.m. 150 Golden Gate Av. Main Speaker: Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., national secretary, Communist Party, U.S.A. — Adm. 50c. Ausp: Bay Area May Day Comm.

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THE GALLERY

FRANK SINATRA, the ring-a-ding hipster from Hoboken, chickened out. Last week he fired Albert Maltz, the blacklisted writer he had hired to do the screen adaptation of **The Execution of Private Slovik.** Sinatra is producing and directing the film.

The announcement of Maltz' firing came in a short statement released by Sinatra's press agents. It said: "In view of the reaction of my family, my friends and the American public, I have instructed my attorneys to make a settlement with Mr. Maltz and to inform him that he will not write the screen play. . . .

"I had thought that the major consideration was whether or not the resulting script would be in the best interests of the United States. Since my conversation with Mr. Maltz had indicated that he has an affirmative approach to the story and so, since I felt fully capable, as producer, of enforcing such standards, I have defended my hiring of Mr. Maltz.

"But the American public has indicated it feels the morality of hiring Albert Maltz is the more crucial matter and I will accept this majority opinion."

SINATRA HAD ANNOUNCED Maltz' hiring March 20. The book he was to adapt deals with the only American deserter of World War II to be executed. Maltz, one of the Hollywood Ten who went to jail for refusing to cooperate with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has been blacklisted for more than ten years. During that time he lived in Mexico and wrote movies under pseudonyms.

Vie Nuove, Rome

The hiring kicked up an immediate fuss but Sinatra held his ground. He took an ad in the March 28 Hollywood **Daily Variety** defending his move. It said: "Under our Bill of Rights I was taught that no one may prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, religion or other matters of opinion. . . .

"As producer of the film, I and I alone will be responsible for it. I accept that responsibility. I ask only that judgment be deferred until the picture is seen. . . .

"I am prepared to stand on my principals [sic] and to await the verdict of the American people when they see 'The Execution of Private Slovik'."

THE AD WENT ON to answer those who tried to connect Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) with the Maltz hiring. Sinatra is an ardent Kennedy supporter and his close friend Peter Lawford is Kennedy's brother-in-law. The ad said: "I do not ask the advice of Sen. Kennedy on whom I should hire. Senator Kennedy does not ask me how he should vote in the Senate."

After the ad appeared, the American Legion, the Hearst press, Walter Winchell, Hedda Hopper and others opened up on Sinatra. There was also great private pressure.

Winchell's column carried a daily dig at Sinatra. Hearst's Washington correspondent David Sentner called Sinatra "Hollywood's left-wing egotist."

Another Hearst story quoted Sen. Karl Mundt: "In these uneasy times it is hard to understand that people will grant new opportunities for the injection of communist propaganda into motion picture fare."

Hedda Hopper suggested that people could boycott Sinatra's records and his TV shows.

WHAT PRIVATE PRESSURE Frankie was subjected to is not known. But it is clear that Kennedy's candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination is very close to Sinatra. The clinching arguments may have come from Massachusetts.

Too bad Frankie couldn't hold out. If he had stuck by his guns, it could have meant the end of the Hollywood blacklist. Earlier this year, Otto Preminger announced that he had signed Dalton Trumbo, another of the Hollywood Ten, to write the script for a film version of **Exodus.**

Stanley Kramer also announced that he had hired a blacklisted writer, Ned Young, who writes under the name Nathan E. Douglas, for the screen play of **Inherit the Wind.**

Both producers have been under merciless attack, but both refused to backtrack.

It would have been nice to have Frankie on the right side, but the burial of the blacklist will have to proceed without a psalm by Sinatra.

—**Robert E. Light**

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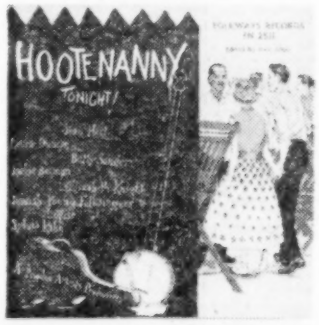

FN 2511—HOOTENANNY TONIGHT, with Pete Seeger, Les Pine, Al Moss, Jean Hart, Earl Robinson, Laura Duncan, Betty Sanders, Jackie Berman, Jerry Silverman, Leon Bibb, Elizabeth Knight, Bob and Louise DeCormier, Sonny Terry, Sylvia Kahn and the Jewish Young Folksingers in a "live" Hootenanny program: Songs: Mule Skinner Blues, Great Getting Up Morning, Rich Man and the Poor Man, Talking Union, Dance Me a Jig, Wimoweh, Dark as a Dungeon, Told My Captain, etc.

A History of Jazz

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FC 7771—CHILDREN'S STORIES AND SONGS; Conceived and performed by Ed McCurdy. A charming record of original songs delightfully sung: People and Horses, If I Were a Duck, The Little Snail, The Clock That Told the Wrong Time, Once There Was a Woodpecker, The Scarecrow, The Teakettle Who Wanted To Sing Like People, etc.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Come back, Africa

ZACHARIAH

LIONEL ROGOSIN'S NEW FILM, **Come Back, Africa,** now showing at the new Bleecker Street Cinema in New York, would be a remarkable film even if its opening had not coincided with the eruptions in South Africa—remarkable both in its quality and in the circumstances under which it was made.

As in his earlier film **On the Bowery** (but on a more ambitious scale) Rogosin has succeeded in delving deeply into the frustrations and humiliations Africans undergo daily in the urban centers of South Africa. And he was obliged to do this without the knowledge of the authorities, shooting many scenes with his camera concealed in the back of a station wagon, always alert for police intervention.

The story is deceptively simple, developed as Rogosin followed the leading character, Zachariah, who comes from Zululand to Johannesburg in the hope of earning a better living and improving the lot of his family. When his wife and children join him, Zachariah moves into a hut amidst the filth and squalor of Sophiatown, the African "location" outside Johannesburg.

In the end Zachariah's efforts are futile. He lands in jail when he is caught with his wife in the home of a white man where she has taken a job as a domestic servant and where he is not allowed to enter. When he returns to his hut from jail, he finds that his wife has been killed by a young African hoodlum whose advances she resisted.

THIS STARK STORY is artfully and revealingly told. The camera records the innumerable obstacles husband and wife face in their quest for bread and human dignity and a decent environment in which to bring up their children: the pass laws, the white man's arrogance and brutality, segregated living quarters unfit even for animals.

Despite his handicaps, Rogosin has managed to capture vividly the contrast between the opulence of the city and the poverty of the African location; the stolid faces of a group of whites watching an African boys' flute band playing in the street and the utter naturalness of the boys; the snappish white employer and the bewildered and unsophisticated African employe.

The very secrecy enforced in the making of the film gives a powerful, dramatic effect to the rather jerky transition to the "shebeen" (illegal drinking place) where Zachariah hears several Africans and a Colored (mixed ancestry) man discuss their social, political and economic problems; for such a discussion can be held only in utmost secrecy, with the constant fear of police intrusion.

All but one of the performers were amateurs. Zachariah was picked by Rogosin from a crowd in the street. He gives an unforgettable performance, giving an impression of vast potentialities beneath utmost simplicity. The celebrated singer, Miriam Makeba, now appearing in the U.S., enlivens a scene in a shebeen with two songs.

ROGOSIN TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICAN authorities that he was making a musical travelogue film; he has succeeded in bringing out of South Africa a film which to a great extent explains and underscores the reasons behind the Africans' current efforts to recover their lost land. The title of the film derives from the national anthem, Mayibuye Africa, of the African freedom movement.

On the same bill with **Come Back, Africa** is Phil Lerner's prize winning short, **My Own Back Yard to Play In.** This is a little gem, nicely complementing the feature film. Shot in New York, it eloquently expresses the longing of underprivileged children playing in the streets for a back yard of their own.

—Kumar Goshal

Harvest time

BREEZY BANK, N.C.

The Russian deal with Castro reminds me that another great people's l[illegible] (one far less violent than Castro) said, "As you sow, so shall you reap. If you sow the wind, you reap the whirlwind."

Extending Jesus' remark a bit: if you sow hatred, you reap war; if you sow atomic bombs, you reap hydrogen bombs; and if you sow missile bases aimed at the other guy, you reap intercontinental missiles dropped in your lap.

It is late, but not too late, to turn back and sow love for all mankind — especially for our "enemies." **Vernon Ward**